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PROGRAM

For Office

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TO : Department of State
INFO : Mr. LEO. LORAN, MR. GORDON, MR. GORDON, MR. GORDON
FROM : Embassy, Mexico
SUBJECT: Cabot-King Papers: Report of the 12th Meeting, November 23, 1954
REF: 111

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Mr. Ambassador, I should like to present to you the new member of
Team. Mr. Buzhinsky, who will act as scribe today.

I should like to introduce our author, Dr. H. M. [unclear]

Mr. Ambassador: This is the 123rd meeting which has been held between us. The purpose of these meetings, as I understand it, has been to solve outstanding questions between our two countries. It seems to me in our recent meetings we have spent too much of our time trying to score propaganda points. I do not see the purpose of such maneuvers. The U.S. does not know what we are saying to each other and if some historian some date in the distant future studies the record of these talks, I do not think that he will be much impressed with the propaganda points we score at each other's expense no matter how neatly they may be phrased.

In short, we are here to solve outstanding questions and not aim to talk. We have had to hear any reply to the material on disarmament which I presented to your predecessor on May 17, 1962. We have yet to secure the release of the four Americans which you hold, in our opinion contrary to our agreed announcement. In this connection I do wish, however, to express our appreciation for the permission which you have given me

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Downey and William Downey to visit John Downey. We have noted newspaper reports to the effect that Chinese Red Cross officials have reminded Mr. Downey of "the Chinese People's Republic's general policy of leniency and early release for good behavior." We hope that this means that Downey and the three other Americans will be released soon.

I have, of course, transmitted to my Government the letter of October 17 from Premier Chou En-lai to President Johnson which Your Excellency sent to me on October 19. In our opinion any problems concerning the prohibition of or even the control of nuclear weapons must center upon verification and inspection of the measures designed to control them, to prohibit their use, or to destroy them. The discussions which have long gone on in Geneva concerning disarmament measures have invariably hinged upon procedures for inspection and verification. Let us have never seen any indication of interest on the part of your authorities in such procedures nor have we seen any recognition of the quite elementary fact that in the modern world disarmament procedures involving nuclear weapons are inextricably related to control of conventional weaponry and force levels. Therefore, with regard to Premier Chou En-lai's letter, we should like a more specific description of your views.

In this connection we have noted statements from your side such as "universal and complete disarmament can be realized only after imperialism, capitalism and all systems of exploitation have been eliminated." I do not see how this statement can be reconciled with Premier Chou En-lai's letter. We have also noted that you have made it clear that your ultimate goal is the domination of Southeast Asia and the free world and that according to your own ideological pronouncements this can be achieved only by violent revolution. Frankly, we see in your professions of a desire for the reduction of tensions a smoke screen for the active pursuit of an effort to dominate the area, and we feel that peace which your side professes to seek is a peace achieved after you have had your way.

The United States has had a long history of friendship for the Chinese people. That friendship has not ceased despite the fact that it became necessary to withdraw our diplomatic and consular personnel in 1949 and 1950 as a result of your side's deliberate efforts to make it impossible for those representatives to remain. This was during the period of the so-called "lean to one side" when your side was deliberately attempting to destroy all contact between the Chinese people and non-communist China. We should like to emphasize that just as your communist beliefs may be an article of faith to you, so our determination to help protect freedom and independence of the free world is an article of faith to us. Despite the many questions which divide us today, we hope that our friendship may at some future date be wholly re-established and that we may reciprocally serve Chinese and American interests in the future as in the past.

Your Excellency, we are disturbed at the tone of relations between our countries. Your large-scale anti-American demonstrations and the

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constant virulent anti-American attitude of your controlled news media are prime examples of the barrier which you are creating between our peoples. Your refusal to admit American newsmen also prevents any reduction of tension. I ask Your Excellency to note that U.S. official spokesmen are not resorting to name-calling with regard to our relations. I think in these talks we might also adopt a more moderate tone.

Finally, Mr. Ambassador, I think it would be helpful if your side would come up with some proposals for lessening tensions between us which are obviously not unacceptable to our side. In this respect, I refer particularly to your repeated statements that we "occupy" Taiwan. As I conceive of these meetings, they are designed to be constructive rather than mere polemics. I hope that Your Excellency will answer me in this spirit. That is all.

Wang said:

Mr. Ambassador, I have listened carefully to what you have said. First of all, I categorically reject the unreasonable and unparruted attacks in your statement against my government. Serious problems exist between our two countries, and we are desirous of settling all these outstanding problems between our two countries. But until now, all of these problems have not been settled between our two countries. For this, the responsibility is entirely on your government. First of all, the outstanding problem between our two countries is the occupation of Taiwan by the United States. In order to reach a solution of this problem we have put forward many proposals, but all have been turned down by your government. If there are obstacles in the settlement of the problem of exchange of newsmen and the problem of the release of criminals in my country, then the responsibility is entirely on your side. We have made clear our positions on these problems on more than one occasion. Just now Mr. Ambassador referred to the message of Premier Chou En-lai to the President of the United States as well as to the Chinese Government's proposal on nuclear weapons, so I should like to reiterate the Chinese position on nuclear weapons. Our position has been made very clear both in Premier Chou En-lai's statement and in the proposal of the People's Government of China. So this is the consistent stand of our government. The Chinese Government has always stood for total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. When you refer to the Chinese government's proposal on the problem of nuclear weapons as a "smoke screen," this is nothing but a slander of the Chinese government. I will categorically and resolutely reject such slanders by Mr. Ambassador.

On October 16, 1964, China exploded an atom bomb, thus successfully making its first test. On the same day the Chinese government issued a statement proposing that a summit conference of all countries of the world be convened to discuss the destruction of nuclear weapons. On the following day Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to the heads of government of all countries, conveying the above proposal. These acts taken by the Chinese government for the strengthening of national defense

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and the safeguarding of world peace are fully in accord with the interests of all peoples, and they have received the active support of all peoples of the world. Ever since the conclusion of World War II the United States has been obstinately rejecting the demands of the world's people for the destruction of nuclear weapons. The United States has carried out nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats against the world and has attempted to maintain its nuclear monopoly forever. In these circumstances it was a matter of course, in order to break the nuclear monopoly of the United States, that China should conduct tests and develop nuclear weapons. China's development of nuclear weapons is a great contribution to world peace. The Chinese government has consistently stood for complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. In fact, our aim is precisely to destroy nuclear weapons. The Chinese government simultaneously has put forth the proposal of holding a summit conference of all countries to discuss this question. We believe all countries of the world, big or small, with or without nuclear weapons, should have the opportunity to freely put forth their views on this question. This is fully in accord with the principle of the acceptance of the equal rights and status of all countries. The Chinese government proposed that as a first step a summit conference should first be called to reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon come into possession of nuclear weapons undertake not to use nuclear weapons either against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones, or against each other. If all countries concerned would make this commitment, then the danger of nuclear war would be reduced. The first step toward this ultimate goal would be the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. After that it would be easier for the countries concerned to discuss smoothly the question of total disarmament, including the prohibition of the export, import, proliferation, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the question of the total destruction of nuclear weapons. The proposal of the Chinese government is reasonable and practicable and indicates no lack of sincerity on the Chinese side.

On June 17, 1925, all the countries of the world were able to conclude an agreement prohibiting the use of asphyxiative agents of certain strength, of other poison gases and bacteriological methods of warfare. Since all these countries could agree to the destruction of such weapons of mass slaughter, then why can they not now agree to the destruction of weapons of even greater mass slaughter?

On October 19 I delivered to you Premier Chou En-lai's message of October 17, 1964, to the governing heads of all countries. Regrettably we note that so far we have received no response from your government. Nevertheless, in consideration of the great cause of world peace we will continue to make unceasing efforts in this direction.

Now we are able to put forth a draft agreed announcement which we would like to hand to your side. The full text of our draft reads as follows:

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AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMBASSADOR OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA
(draft)

"Ambassador Wang Huo-chuan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador John M. Cabot, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, have agreed to announce the following:

"1. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America express their determination to make joint efforts for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war to mankind and for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

"2. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America consider that, in order to realize the noble aim of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, the nuclear powers should set a good example by taking the initiative to undertake not to be the first to use such weapons.

"To this end, Ambassador Wang Huo-chuan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

"Ambassador John M. Cabot, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will the United States be the first to use nuclear weapons.

"3. The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America solemnly propose to the governments of all the countries of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon come into possession of nuclear weapons undertake not to use nuclear weapons either against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones, or against each other."

I hope you will give serious consideration to the proposal I have put forward today and give a constructive reply. By the way, I should also like to say something about the disarmament conference. In your statement, Mr. Ambassador, you said it seems that China is not interested in the disarmament talks. Mr. Ambassador, I believe you are certainly aware that the disarmament talks in Geneva are within the

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framework of the United Nations. For the past ten years and more you have always been obstructing the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. But today, when China finally has possession of nuclear weapons, you are thinking of dragging China into the affairs of the United Nations. I don't know what is behind all of this. But I must tell you very solemnly that so long as the United Nations fails to restore to China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and the illegal status of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations is not nullified, we will have nothing to do with the United Nations. This stand of ours is absolute and unalterable.

You said that China is not interested in disarmament talks. I must also tell you that under the manipulation of the United States, the United Nations has proved itself absolutely incapable of dealing with the problem of disarmament. For the last ten years the United Nations General Assembly has discussed the problem of disarmament every year but has failed to make any headway. The 10-nation disarmament talks held in Geneva have been in session for about two and a half years, and they have never solved a single question of substance. I can say that the more there are talks of disarmament, the bigger is the U.S. budget for armaments. I can tell you that the United States has no sincerity at all in disarmament.

I should also say that the disarmament talks in Geneva are nothing but a smokescreen to cover up your efforts in the armaments race and in your preparations.

Mr. Ambassador, there is another question of great importance which I should like to take up. You are stepping up your acts and provocations against my country. A pilotless high-altitude reconnaissance military plane of the United States intruded into the airspace over Central-South China on November 13 and was shot down by air defense units of the PIA. This was a downright provocation against the People's Republic of China. I am authorized to lodge a strong protest for you to transmit to the United States Government about this. Moreover, your Secretary of State Dean Rusk even admitted that you have been using spy instruments in satellites to engage in espionage activity over China. Chet Hollifield also disclosed that you have used U-2 spy planes to collect information regarding Chinese efforts to develop nuclear weapons. According to a Pakistan newspaper you have used the airfield at Leh, in Ladakh, to undertake provocative U-2 flights over China. I should warn you that this type of action, like those previous, will automatically meet with ignominious defeat.

Since the last meeting United States warships and military planes have been violating the territorial air space and water of China, in response to which the Chinese Foreign Minister served on you the 345th Serious Warning. From October 27 to November 5 in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique you held the "Sky Soldier 35" maneuvers in Central Taiwan in which 1900 officers and men of the United States 173rd Airborne

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Brigade, and fighter bombers and transport planes of the 5th and 13th Air Forces of the United States Pacific Air Force took part. You have sent a squadron of B-52 jet heavy bombers with nuclear warheads to Guam. You have sent the nuclear submarines Swordfish, Seadragon, and Daniel Boone to Hong Kong, Sasebo, and other places in the Western Pacific. Mr. Ambassador, such military provocations and war threats could calm down nobody. They could only call forth the most resolute opposition. I hereby demand that the United States immediately cease these provocations and threats.

I said:

Your Excellency, I regret that you do not seem to agree with me as to the tone we might most profitably use in these talks. Your Excellency said that I referred to Premier Chou En-lai's letter as a "smoke screen." I invite your attention to the fact that this is completely false and that you have misquoted me. I never said any such thing. You appear to think that I invited you to join the disarmament conference at Geneva. I made no such proposal. You also twice said that your side is not interested in disarmament talks. I think at least that that is at least an exaggeration of what I did say. With regard to Premier Chou's letter, what I did ask for was more information. I pointed out that the question of verification or control is of vital concern to the disarmament talks. Unless I greatly misunderstood, Your Excellency made no reference to these problems in your statements regarding the Chinese position. I also listened in vain and heard no reference to the question of conventional armaments. It seems to be obvious that conventional armaments are just as important as nuclear armaments in the question of disarmament. With regard to your proposed draft Agreed Announcement, I hope you will be able to give us a copy of the text. I would appreciate it very much. [Chinese handed over copies of the draft Agreed Announcement.] It will obviously receive the consideration in Washington which it merits. I can give you no answer today.

Now it seems to me that with regard to stepped up reconnaissance flights and so forth, most of that matter has been covered in previous talks. I must say I noted with considerable surprise your objection to our movement of B-52 bombers to Guam. Guam, if I am not greatly mistaken, is American territory. It is a great many miles from China. I also venture to point out to Your Excellency that so far as I am aware, neither Hong Kong nor Sasebo has been claimed by China. We have had to take certain precautionary measures as the result of aggressions which have occurred in Southeast Asia.

Your Excellency referred at considerable length to the explosion of a nuclear device by your side. I should add my Government's regret to that expressed by so many others in the world that you have tested a nuclear device in the atmosphere, thereby adding to the radioactive pollution of the atmosphere. Overwhelming world opinion, including very outspoken communist parties in many countries, is demanding continued effective measures to halt testing in the atmosphere which began over a year ago with the test ban treaty. Responsible countries are seeking

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all practical steps to control the spread of nuclear weapons. President Johnson said on October 18 in his address to the nation: "We will continue to support the limited test ban treaty, which has made the air cleaner. We call on the world--especially Red China--to join the nations which have signed the treaty. We will continue to work for an ending of all nuclear tests of every kind, by solid and verified agreement." It seems to me that if your government is sincerely interested in the elimination of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war, then it should agree to adhere to the partial test ban treaty. If your side considers that the explosion of a nuclear device in the atmosphere in the face of adverse world opinion is likely to intimidate your neighbors, we believe you are quite wrong. President Johnson has also said, "We nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have it." In this and other contexts, whatever your designs toward the Republic of China may be, I feel that I should again make it very clear that the Republic of China has our firm support in accord with our treaty against any threat of force.

Incidentally, Mr. Ambassador, in accordance with established precedent, we may wish to reveal the substance of our discussions on disarmament and nuclear testing in these talks to certain interested parties. That is all.

Hung replied:

Mr. Ambassador, from your statements it seems you are very interested in disarmament. I've even talked about the problem of disarmament of conventional weapons, but I believe that you call disarmament is indeed a smoke screen. I have already said that the United Nations General Assembly has discussed the problem of disarmament every year. The 18-nation Geneva talks were especially devoted to the discussion of disarmament. But the result is this: The more talk about disarmament, the bigger becomes the armament of the United States, and our military expenditures have also greatly increased. Last year the direct military expenditure of the United States was US \$53.9 billion and has reached \$60 billion this year. If the indirect military expenditures are added to the direct military expenditures, then the total for 1963-1964 constitutes more than 78 percent of the total United States budget. In 1947 you spent \$200 million on the production of nuclear weapons, while in 1963 the sum has increased to US \$6 billion. Not long ago President Johnson declared that since 1960 the nuclear forces of the United States have increased by one and a half times. The number of ICBMs and Polaris missiles has increased from less than 100 to over 1000 pieces. I believe the actual number is even greater than this. In the field of conventional weapons the number of combat ready divisions has grown by 45 percent. The Special Forces which are used especially for putting down national liberation struggles of the peoples of oppressed countries have increased more than seven times. So this is the result of your disarmament.

If your words regarding disarmament and the safeguarding of world peace are of any value, I hope you will give careful consideration to our proposal. You should also give consideration to the draft Agreed Announcement which I just read. If you are really sincere do you dare to reach

agreement with the Chinese government on this proposal? Our proposal is most realistic and practical and feasible. So this is one of the questions I wanted to talk about.

Just now you also spoke about the contamination of the atmosphere as a result of China's explosion of a nuclear bomb. As everyone knows, the United States is the first country in the world which produced, tested, and used nuclear weapons. You have already carried out hundreds of nuclear tests and most were tested on the high seas of the Pacific Ocean. If there can be any talk concerning the contamination of the atmosphere, the United States Government should be held principally and fully responsible for this. We think you have no competence to talk about the contamination of the atmosphere.

I can remember that at the time when the Tripartite Treaty was signed in 1963, your President Kennedy declared that the United States was ready to resume atmospheric testing at any moment. Therefore it can be seen that in accusing others of contaminating the atmosphere you are not at all prompted by concern for the health of others, but you are only concerned that your nuclear monopoly has been broken. You said something concerning the Tripartite Treaty. As everyone knows, the Tripartite Treaty was signed when the United States had already conducted hundreds of nuclear tests and acquired a wealth of data from atmospheric testing. In signing the treaty your aim is absolutely not taking the first step toward the prohibition of nuclear weapons. To put it bluntly, your aim is to retain your nuclear monopoly, and to tie up the hands of other countries and consolidate your status of monopoly so that you can continue to push forward with your policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. This treaty cannot restrict the United States. It can only restrict other countries, particularly socialist countries other than the Soviet Union. So by signing this treaty you want to restrict other countries which do not possess nuclear weapons in order to defeat their efforts to strengthen their countries. In the past year and more since the Tripartite Treaty you have conducted tens of underground tests, and stepped up your efforts to push for a HEN. Instead of decreasing the number of nuclear weapons you have increased it. Moreover, you have used the treaty to deceive the peace-loving people of the world in their struggle to prohibit nuclear weapons. Therefore, the Tripartite Treaty has not taken a step forward toward the prohibition of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, it has put off the destruction of nuclear weapons to the remote future. Instead of decreasing the danger of nuclear war, it has increased the danger of nuclear war. We opposed the treaty in the past and we still oppose it now.

I should also like to touch on the question of the situation in South Vietnam, because, Sir, you again at this meeting talked about the communization of Southeast Asia. You said Communism is our belief. It is impossible for anybody to shake this belief of ours in communism. But it is pure nonsense if you link the problem of communism with Southeast Asia. We have never interfered in the affairs of the countries of Southeast Asia. The United States should be held responsible for the tension in Southeast Asia.

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Perhaps Mr. Ambassador will think I am speaking in a soft tone, but I am only talking of the facts. It is for the purpose of settling problems that we have to make clear all these facts. In talking about the situation in South Vietnam, where you have suffered one defeat after another, you are still intensifying your efforts in this cruel war. Recently you have broadened the development of your suppression of South Vietnam, slaughtering large numbers of people inhabiting this area, and you have conducted military exercises in the South China Sea and are preparing further attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. You have gone so far as to send military advisors from Taiwan to South Vietnam and intend to use the remnant troops of Chiang Kai-shek to expand the war there. The Chinese people cannot but pay serious attention to your plot to bring the Chiang Kai-shek clique into Southeast Asia. What can be expected of such plans to link the battle of the Taiwan Straits with that in Indo-China? Have you given careful consideration to this action? I hope you will give serious consideration to it.

Your Secretary of State Dean Rusk reportedly slammed China as having interfered in the affairs of Southeast Asia, and even threatened China, saying if China does not stop its intervention there would be disaster, danger, and trouble. This is sheer nonsense. There is not one Chinese soldier in Southeast Asia. How can you talk of Chinese intervention? It is precisely you and not we who interfere in Southeast Asian affairs. In your determined effort to appropriate Indo-China to yourself you have flagrantly violated the Geneva Agreements, introduced many soldiers and transported many armaments into Indo-China and carried out special warfare in South Vietnam. Now in your grief there you are eating what we call the bitter fruit of your evil deeds. But as for China, it has never interfered in the internal affairs of Indo-China nor does it intend to provoke war there. We are willing to see the restoration of peace in Indo-China on the basis of the Geneva Agreements. Therefore it now still depends on you. If you really want peace it will be easy to pull out of Indo-China and let the Indo-Chinese people settle their problems themselves. If you intend to hold on there and expand the war in Indo-China, then all the people of Indo-China will fight against you. The Chinese people also will not sit idly by. In the end you will be kicked out of Indo-China.

I said:

Your Excellency, you began by citing certain erroneous figures regarding our arms. Now let us just go back a little and examine what happened after World War II. Immediately after that war we largely disarmed. Others did not, and on the contrary one even seized a number of independent countries. We offered our then nuclear monopoly to the world on certain safeguarding conditions. Since, as history has shown, a nuclear monopoly cannot be maintained, our offers were not accepted. [Consultation among Chinese.] Well, I simply said our offer was not accepted by other countries of the world, or at least by one other country. [Further muttering among Chinese.] While we were largely disarmed, we were confronted by the aggression in Korea. We have been confronted by similar situations at regular intervals ever since. We therefore thought it wise to rearm. We seek by our armament no advantage over any nation. We have, as Your Excellency pointed out, been

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for some two years discussing the question of disarmament. It is an immensely complicated subject and not as simple as Your Excellency seems to believe. I cannot help wondering what your government is thinking in connection with the proposal you have offered me. You have said, Your Excellency, you have never intervened in the internal affairs of other countries; yet you referred to national liberation struggles and it is clear from the way you referred to them that you support them. While I don't know whether you have troops in Laos and South Vietnam, although the North Vietnamese do, it is clear that you are supporting what is going on in Laos and South Vietnam. It is perfectly clear that North Vietnamese units are in Laos today. It is perfectly clear that the Vietcong have been supplied armaments, training, financial aid, administration, and so on, with your connivance, from North Vietnam. Whispering on Chinese side. I think your government is playing a very dangerous game. As to various accusations with regard to aggression by the United States in Southeast Asia, I can only restate our objectives as Secretary Rusk did in February of this year:

"We intend vigorously to oppose Communist expansion by force or threat of force, whether directly or indirectly applied. The free world intends to prevent the Communists from extending their ways through force, whether through frontal assault, piecemeal territorial grabs, or infiltration of men and arms across frontiers."

There would be no problem in this area, at least as far as the United States is concerned, if you and your associates would simply leave your neighbors alone. We have absolutely no territorial designs, and our presence is not aimed at power destruction nor is it aimed at the overthrow of the communist regime in North Vietnam. Our intention is simply to help protect South Vietnam and Laos from externally directed subversion. With regard to Your Excellency's reference to the statement of Secretary Rusk, I can only say that I have nothing to add to what the Secretary said.

I am interested in what Your Excellency said regarding the restoration of peace in Southeast Asia according to the Geneva Agreements. Your Excellency, if the Geneva Agreements were really respected by your side, I don't think the problem of Southeast Asia would arise at all. Certainly for our part, we are prepared to abide by the Geneva Agreements, if others do also. That is all.

Wang said:

Mr. Ambassador, you said that you were compelled to undertake the expansion of armaments. This is an effort to find an excuse for the expansion of your armaments. I should like to ask you who has ever committed aggression against the United States? Your places are Washington, D.C., New York, San Francisco, Honolulu, and the whole United States. It is not other places which are your territory. You are creating trouble and aggression in the Taiwan area. Is it the result of aggression against the United States? You have sent tens of thousands of troops to South Vietnam. Has anyone committed aggression against the United States? Is South Vietnam

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United States territory? You are now supporting the most reactionary government of Zaire in the Congo. Can it be said that the Congolese people have committed aggression against the United States? You have established hundreds of military bases around the world and you have stationed over one million United States troops overseas. What is the purpose of all these military bases? Therefore, no matter how you try to quibble, no one can be deceived by your words. Therefore, it is better not to say these things to us. I would only like to say that it is high time for the United States to report, come back and stop its war preparations as well as threats of nuclear war. Only in this way can peace be preserved in the world. The time is long past when you could ride on the backs of the people. If you still insist on a policy of war and aggression then surely you will lift a rock only to crush your own feet. Mr. Ambassador has just asked us about the intention of the Chinese government in putting forth this proposal. I have already told the Ambassador that China opposes nuclear war. Its purpose is to discuss the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons. That is, all the nuclear powers as well as those which may soon come into possession of nuclear weapons undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. So this is a most realistic and constructive step. It is really time for the United States to show whether it is sincere or not. If you have sincerity then we can easily agree to and sign the agreement. Also you talked about the problem of verification and control of nuclear weapons. We know well what these words mean. You say that the problem of disarmament is a very complicated one, but I understand that it is the United States which puts many obstacles in the way of disarmament. So your real intention is not to realize disarmament.

As regards the situation in Southeast Asia, I should like to make it clear once again that we have no intention of interfering in the affairs of Southeast Asia, nor have we taken any action in this regard. You have sent over 20,000 troops to South Vietnam. This fact is known to everybody and can't be denied by the United States itself. It is also reported that the United States had to spend over \$2 million every day to support the government of South Vietnam. Your troops are not only directing and training the troops of South Vietnam; they are also taking a direct part in the slaughter of the people of South Vietnam. You also create trouble and attacks in Laos, South Vietnam, and the border area of Cambodia. You help the rightist faction carry out attacks against already liberated areas. So this is not merely a matter of intervention. This is actually an aggression and the slaughter of people with your own hands, and it should be said that you have committed crimes.

You said we have intervened in Southeast Asia. Can you provide proof? During the last meeting, Mr. Ambassador, you referred to this as fact. You cannot show proof that there are any Chinese troops in this area. It is also impossible to shift the blame for the violations of the Geneva Agreements. The facts can be seen by the International Commission in South Indo-China, and can be seen by the broad masses in Indo-China. As for our own policy of support, we have naturally claimed we always support all just struggles in the world. Since you are engaged in a war of aggression and the slaughter of people in these places, then why can't we

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support the just cause? All just people in the world will rise up and support these struggles.

Regarding the question of opposition to the United States in China, we can tell you we have never opposed the American people. As a matter of fact, we attach great importance to friendship with the American people. The United States Government is occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan. It consistently violates China's territorial air space and waters. It interferes in China's sovereignty and intervenes in the internal affairs of China. So certainly the Chinese government should oppose these actions of the United States Government. Not only the Chinese government but also the Chinese people will oppose you. So long as you persist in these policies, then we will insist on opposition to your aggression. That is all.

I said:

Your Excellency, you began by asking a direct question, "Who has committed aggression against the United States?" I will give you a direct answer to this: You have. In 1950, when there were soldiers of the United States under the UN flag trying to stop aggression in Korea, you interfered. You were declared the aggressor by the UN then. This, the highest tribunal in the world, declared you the aggressor. This is an example of what has been going on in the past twenty years all over the world. Your Excellency has asked for evidence of interference in South-East Asia. The fact is that the Royal Laotian Government is right now holding three prisoners from regular units of the North Vietnamese army. The fact is, there is plenty of other evidence of interference by North Vietnam, with your connivance, in both Laos and South Vietnam. Now if we are not going to see one country after another country "liberated," as Czechoslovakia was in 1945 and Hungary in 1955, and as you are trying to do in South Vietnam and Laos today--what you call "liberation"--then we will have to give these countries what help we can. United States soldiers were sent to South Vietnam as a result of the aggressive acts of North Vietnam, done with your connivance, against South Vietnam. That is all.

Wang said:

You just now talked, Mr. Ambassador, about aggression. As to who is the aggressor, this is clear to the people of the world. Chinese troops have never stepped outside the gates of China. While the United States is not only maintaining a large number of military bases and stationing large numbers of U.S. troops in other countries, you are, as a matter of fact, committing aggression every day. During the past hundred years' history of aggression against China, the United States has been prominent in it. We know very clearly that aggression is an unjust matter and aggression will certainly meet with defeat in the end. Since China is a socialist country, it will not commit aggression against others. China not only never has, but in fact in the future never will, commit aggression. Do you care to settle the account of your aggression in history? You allege that China committed aggression in Korea. This crime you try to put on the head of China, but you absolutely will not succeed. We only have to recall the simple historical facts to show this.

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is the aggressor. Perhaps, Mr. Ambassador, you are fully aware that at the time U.S. troops invaded Korea there were no other foreign troops there, that is, other than United States troops? It was only four months afterwards when U.S. troops fought up to the Yalu River and claimed that they would cross the river and invade China that the Chinese People's Volunteers plunged into the war to fight U.S. aggression and defend their homeland. When you endangered the security of our country, we had the right to take part in the struggle against your aggression. How can you say that the United States, which started the war in Korea and fought continuously before the CPV went to Korea, and already had destroyed many cities and slaughtered many people, is not the aggressor, while the CPV, who were compelled to take part in the struggle in defending their homeland, are aggressors? After the conclusion of the Korean war, furthermore, the Chinese government has repeatedly proposed that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea. In 1953 the Chinese government on its own initiative and unilaterally withdrew all the volunteers in Korea. But up to now, when U.S. troops remain in Korea, how can the U.S. escape the charge of aggression in Korea? The resolutions passed by the UN in 1951 and assiduated by the United States are totally absurd, and null and void. While the world knows the true aggressor is the United States, so in forcing the U to adopt this shameful resolution the U.S. simply followed the old practice of the thief calling "stop thief!"

With regard to the problem of South Vietnam, I have repeatedly made my views clear. There are facts that can prove your aggression against South Vietnam and these facts cannot be denied. If you really have sincerity in wanting to settle the problems of Southeast Asia, you should not deny the facts, because even if you want to it is impossible to do so.

You say we should not interfere in the affairs of Southeast Asia. In fact, we have never interfered. We are only opposing your aggression and intervention in Southeast Asia because these countries are China's neighbors. When you are creating tension in this area and conducting aggression, this causes a threat to Chinese security. If you think China will sit idly by and do nothing you are sadly mistaken. If you are sincere you will pull out and not interfere, and let the Vietnamese people settle their problems. This is the most fair and reasonable way. You say we are conniving in the actions of North Vietnam. This is a slander against North Vietnam. This kind of phrase is a smoke screen to cover up your aggression.

I said:

There are a great many things I might say in answer to your remarks, Mr. Ambassador. However, I appealed in my first statement for a minimum of polemics in these discussions. I can't see any constructive purpose in continuing this discussion, and so I will not comment on your last remarks at all.

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Wang said:

I was talking only about the facts. My words were in fact only fair and reasonable. Actually the problems about which I was talking were touched upon by Your Excellency, so I must make our views very clear. Only by making the views of the two sides clear can we facilitate the settlement of the problems between our two countries. We are willing to settle these problems. Now it depends on you, on your sincerity. With regard to relations between our two countries we have also put forth many proposals. Now today we have put forth a constructive proposal for the destruction of nuclear weapons. If your side is sincere, I appeal to the U.S. government to give serious consideration to our proposal.

I said:

I can only repeat that we disagree with regard to almost everything discussed in our last exchange. Since we are alone here in this room, and no one else for many years will follow the points which are being made here, I will not answer the points which you have just now brought up. I will transmit your proposals to my government and I can assure you they will be given the consideration they deserve--no more, no less. That is all.

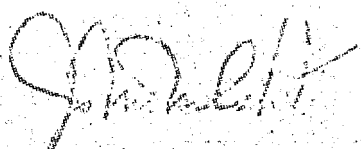
Wang said:

I have no more.

I said:

I believe it is your turn to propose the date for the next meeting, if you have already finished.

It was decided that the next meeting would be held on February 24, 1965, and that in view of the longer interval between talks it would be possible for either side to convene a meeting earlier if necessary.


John M. Cabot

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